The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /sápu tayashimu/.[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

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[1] [= "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Zapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Rasmussen's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Rasmussen 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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[P 154]

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa laymen to come to gripe with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

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bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down.

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Later, several people, including the Kw'U, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off."

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Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognisance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused in reducing punishment.

in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindalelas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the responses. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.] Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1961:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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through the various stages of his psychosexual development. For the Cayapa, autonomous motivation and independence is considerably reduced and heard only faintly in a very muted minor key. Even the penis is said [831] to be able to think for itself, at least in terms of sex, for "when the penis wants to bother a woman it erects itself." This seeming lack of involvement or control of an erogenous body area has been amply demonstrated in terms of Erickson's psychosexual approach. This is paralleled to some extent by Robert W. White's discussion of effectance motivation, wherein the organism attempts to develop competence and mastery over his environment, and competence, states White, finds expression elsewhere, as well as in the erogenous bodily zones. As we shall see, this is most certainly not an either/or proposition, but more in the nature of a complimentary approach to Erickson's framework. White's position is very important for the light it throws on the Cayapa data, and requires an extended quotation.

> Clearly we are dealing with important problems of development, but is it correct to place the decisive struggle in the bathroom? Does the child in toilet training provide an adequate model, a sufficient interpretative nucleus, for all that is going on? Let us

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have been extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe trips he is placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa is best reflected in his replies to questions on the frequency of coitus. Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, married men in their late twenties and early

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thirties spoke of "maybe twice a week." It would appear that the Cayapa, even at his <u>breeggedoutie</u> best, operates sexually at a very low level. One Cayapa termed coitus "<u>medio trabajo</u>--a little like work." Another informant, when asked if he enjoyed sex, replied, "<u>Siempre me gusta, pero no mucho</u>--sure I like it, but not much." It is my impression that there is a very large minority among the Cayapa who feel along with Lord Chesterfield that "the position is ridiculous, the pleasure is momentary, and the price is outrageous."

The women's genital behavior is more forward, as attested by our legal material, so that it must be asked, "If female children receive the same kind and amount of toilet training as the male, and the same nursing and weaning, how can this come about, especially since I have postulated that the male sexual patterns arise out of oral fixation which is the result of the juxtaposition of harsh sphincter training and breast feeding and/or weaning?"

Both males and females strive for greatly intensified oral incorporation [not only is sexual intercourse spoken of as the vagina eating the penis, but a man tells a woman with whom he enjoys sex "/[illegible]/—

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your vagina is delicious,' but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'grasginess' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, become formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-